

872 Since 1946, public school students have had the option of taking French or English (*ibid.*, p. 426), and in Munṣif English is the universal choice.

The national school follows more or less the same pattern, at the same and also more advanced levels, but of course the master is free to choose his own texts and to present his courses as he chooses. The one in Munṣif is very much concerned with having up-to-date books (American and English), and holds his plant and students up to strict hygienic standards. The school has a modern toilet, and the drinking water is filtered.

THE "SPORT CLUB"

575 The building which houses the government school is also the center of the
345 Sport Club which was founded by the young people of the village about 1950.

[524] The building has a large central room in which there is a stage and four or five tables for playing cards and other games. There are four side-rooms, one of which has a shelf of books and pamphlets and is the headquarters of the club. The other three are schoolrooms, equipped with small wooden desks for the students and blackboards. The large room is used as an everyday meeting place for the adolescents and young adults. It is also used for the annual play. So far, it appears [524] that though the club itself is new, it has focused already existing activities, such as the plays and volleyball games, but has not initiated any new kinds of activity. It is active as a unit only in the summer when there are many older students and young adults in the village on vacation, and if causes may be adduced, it can be said that the primary cause of the club's coming into existence is the need of idle vacationers to organize their activities. There was no need for this before the beginning of the recent changes in the culture.

VILLAGE GOVERNMENT

632 The village government consists of a mayor (*mukhtar*) and a four-man
623 council of elders (*'adan' akhtyaariyyah*). All five men serve concurrently for a term of four years. They are elected by the men of the village who have attained the age of twenty-one. The present mayor (C,XXI) has held the office for about twelve years. The tenure of his predecessor (B,XII), who was his father-in-law, extended back to about 1900.

[631] The present municipal statutes of Lebanon define three types of community. Beirut is in a class by itself. There follow one hundred and twenty "incorporated" towns. The remainder, about 1380, of which Munṣif is one, are classed as "unincorporated" villages. The unincorporated villages are governed according to the *Loi des Mukhtars* of 1928 (Ritscher, 1932, p. 1). Before 1928, the unincorporated villages were governed under the provisions of the Ottoman Vilayet Law of 1864 which, at the local level, was originally a formalization of the traditional pattern of government by a council of heads of households, one of whom was chosen as *shaykh*.

SECULAR RECREATION

It should not be necessary to read very deeply between the lines of the two previous chapters in order to understand that there is much of what Americans would call "recreational behavior" which is tightly integrated with economic and religious behavior. Stores and bakeries are foci of social interaction. Rites of passage and other rituals are occasions for parties and celebrations. 517

The purpose of the present chapter is to describe what might be classified as "recreation for its own sake," behavior which is certainly recreational but does not appear to be closely integrated with any of the other cultural categories which have been discussed.

THE CLUB

The "Sport Club" of Munṣif is a new institution which appears to have been started for the sole purpose of organizing the leisure activities of adolescents and young adults. If it has any other purpose, such as political activity, no hint whatever was given of it. 515 ●

PLAYS

We have seen that the club's headquarters is regularly used as an everyday gathering place. It is also used for giving the annual village play in August. The village play antedates the club by many years, but the club seems to have taken over the greater part of the responsibility in putting it on. It is not clear exactly when the play was introduced into the village. Middle-aged adults seem always to have remembered it, but though traditional Arab culture has something resembling plays—actually narrative poetry recited by several individuals—the observed phenomenon in the village seems clearly to be part of the recent acculturative process. 536 545

Perhaps the account of the introduction of plays into Bishmizūn early in the twentieth century gives some idea of what happened in Munṣif. Tannous says that the play was introduced into Bishmizūn through the inspiration of returned emigrants, contact with city customs, and the encouragement of mission-school teachers. After a couple of years, girls started taking part, though over the strong objections of some elders. The play soon became a village festival with guests invited from other villages, the whole community taking part in one way or another. The plays were all in Classical Arabic, the plots all taken from Western novels or plays, or derived from Arabic historical events (Tannous, 1943, pp. 341-42).

536 Presumably the development in Munjif was similar. The plays are given on the stage in the government school, which is equipped with footlights (candles with reflectors) and a painted backdrop (European forest scene). Arab themes have been used extensively, but *Hamlet* has been presented several times. (One young adult said he thought it was not a good play to give because the lion's share went to only one actor. It was better, he thought, to give a play in which six or seven, at least, took an equal part.) At the time of the writer's final departure from the village, the question of what play to give was being vigorously debated at all age levels. There appeared to be two opposing schools of thought, and tempers were running high in some cases.

COMPETITIVE SPORTS

526 Competitive games such as weight-lifting and javelin throwing have always been popular among the Arabs, but team athletics are something new, introduced by the American mission schools.

In Munjif, volleyball is *the* game, and it appears to date, like the plays, from early in the twentieth century. At present, the village has three teams, ranked in order of the collective skill of their respective players. Most of the games are "intramural," within the village, but a regular series is played with the teams of other villages in the Qurni. In 1951, the first team played a team from Bruumaana, a large resort town above Beirut. The club appears to take a major role in organizing the teams and arranging games. The girls have their own team.

(535) The following quotation, introduced here for comparative purposes, is taken from a chapter in Dodd (1940) which is credited to Afif Tannous, and probably the village mentioned in it is Bishmizziin.

A few years ago, a group of us started the game of volleyball in our village in Northern Lebanon. The game was new, and the villagers were at first lukewarm about it. However, it did not take long before the enthusiasm for the game began to touch one individual after another and lead him to request the privilege of participating. Even old farmers, who would not hear of the idea at first, began to feel proud of having their boys belong to the village team. . . . The following summer, the girls of the village caught the spirit and organized their own teams. From our village the idea spread to several neighboring villages and in these volleyball teams were also organized. The next step that naturally followed was the interchange of volleyball matches among these different teams. Each week a match would be arranged for in a different village during which time hundreds of villagers would come from neighboring villages to attend the match. Volleyball became the game for the district, supplying the villages with an excellent opportunity for recreation. (Dodd, 1940, pp. 638-39.)

DANCING

535 Although no one put it into so many words, the impression was given that such traditional dances as the *dabki* are looked upon at best with sentimental attach-

ment by most of the middle-aged people and with unfeigned derision by many, 535 though not all, younger people. One middle-aged woman said that of course everyone knew how to do the *dabbi*, and that "it is done sometimes, and at weddings." "But," she said, "it is better when everyone does it dressed in *shirwal* and *agal* and *kafiyah*." The only interpretation which the writer can give to this remark is that the *dabbi* is associated with the old days which are no more. There is some evidence that the dance is done far less now in general than it used to be. An acquaintance of the writer's in Beirut, an American of Lebanese ancestry, said that for two years he had looked around unsuccessfully for a performance of it in Beirut. On at least one occasion his inquiries were met with the scornful remark: "Oh, the *dabbi* is just for peasants in the mountains."

For the most part, the adolescent and young adult Munsifiin seem to be committed to the rejection of the more obvious concomitants of their peasant background, and their de-emphasis on the *dabbi* is probably an aspect of this. [19] Rather than the *dabbi*, it is the samba, rumba, and tango which please the young people most. In this respect, Munif is by no means an isolated case. Spanish and South American rhythms are immensely popular among the Lebanese. That well-known tune, "La Compecita," was a popular classic in Lebanon in 1943, and it remains so today. The appeal appears to be more rhythmical than melodic, and of course Spanish music has for a long time been influenced by Arab modes.

The social gatherings in the club are, in sum, featured by the playing mostly of Spanish and South American dances and songs on the phonograph. In traditional Arab culture there is no "concert" music. Music is either to be danced to or it is merely background for a poetic recitation. The second function is maintained today 533 834 by the traditional forms, but the first has been expanded and taken over by Western forms. Dancing to Western music involves close physical contact between the sexes, and this is very much at variance with traditional norms. One older man, in fact, said, "All this touching is not good for the young people." In general, Western free social intercourse between the sexes has been a difficult kind of behavior for young people of the Middle East to adjust themselves to. To many of them it suggests an invitation to free sexual intercourse, an understandable misinterpretation which has led to much pain and embarrassment, for example, among students in the city.

THE HOME

Hospitality is a virtue which the Arabs value very highly, in part because it implies generosity, another trait which is explicitly valued. At whatever time a guest may arrive at a house, a cup of coffee is made specially for him; and if the occasion requires it, he is invited to dine and even to spend the night. All this is, as often as not, done without any prior notice at all. 577 574

The principle of hospitality applies among the villagers in their daily lives, 574 although ordinarily it involves no further effort than making coffee. In the absence

621 it the beginning of a movement that may be
794 termed "progressive." On the other hand, one
621 can see the dangers it implied for village solidarity.
578 A third significant point to observe is that a new
type of conflict arose in the village, as a result of
the school incident. It was conflict between two
new groups—those who wanted to have a Protes-
tant school in the village and those who opposed
the idea. It was a division that cut across the
family and church groups. It was also conflict
between a traditional value and a new one—
between the need for the preservation of church
integrity and the need for education. All of this
tended to shake the village organization; all of it
demanded new adjustments on the part of the
people.

III

871 After the first Mission teacher left the village,
177 his students, and the village people in general, were
191 set afire by the desire for further education.
621 Other mission teachers came to the village and
gave additional impetus to that desire. At the
same time the first emigrants began to return to
the village and tell the people about the wonders
of education in that "marvellous country of
America." English was the language through
which they could attain some status with the
American people and reap some of the gold in that
country. They wanted their children to learn
English and get an American type of education.
The Syrian Protestant College at Beirut was be-
ginning to flourish, and the road was now open for
a village boy to become a doctor or a college
teacher. All of this meant more cash income, and
cash was becoming more and more the significant
symbol of comfort and new forms of prestige.
Village boys and girls began to come back from
Tripoli with American high school certificates in
their hands. They were "fully" educated and
they could share in the establishment and running
of an independent village school.

871 All of these factors combined to bring about the
621 fruition of the village school idea. In 1904, under
575 the leadership of the Mission's early students and
some influential emigrants who had returned to
the village, a fully representative society, the first
in the history of the village, was formed and given
the name of "Raja-el-Watan"—the hope of the
country—the country here meaning nothing more
than the village. The sole aim of the society was to
establish and run a school for the whole village
community.

Lebanon MEI

PRIVATE LEBANESE SCHOOLS

517

architectural training. Entrance is by a competitive examination based on the second *baccalauriat*. The preparatory year is for students who do not pass the examination or for holders of the first *baccalauriat*. Its program is identical with the *classe de mathématiques* with the addition of drawing and design. In 1945-46 the architectural course consisted of only three years; the fourth year had not yet been started.

The course in music is divided into three stages: a first stage of three years, a middle stage of four years, and a final stage of two years consisting largely of repertoire selections. Every student must study at least one instrument. Instruction is given in piano, violin, cello, flute, clarinet, oboe, brass, and voice. All students take courses in theory of solfeggio, theory of music, harmony, counterpoint, composition, and instrumentation. The Academy has a choir composed of some of its men and women students and of girls from the National School. An amateur orchestra is made up of the Academy students, and for major performances some professional musicians are hired. The Academy has given programs in choral and instrumental music, including Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*, Haydn's *The Creation*, Bach's *Christmas Oratorio*, Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, and Handel's *Messiah*, all under the direction of the president of the Academy. [533]

The art section has no definite length of time for study. It gives instruction in painting, water colors, wood engraving, photography, and sculpture, together with theoretical studies in anatomy, shading, and history of art (the last named in conjunction with the School of Architecture).

In 1945-46 the Academy had 43 students in architecture, 130 in music, and 30 in art. It was staffed by about forty-five teachers, most of whom were part time. Fees were £L120 (\$54.50) for art students, £L140 (\$63.50) for music, and £L440 (\$200) for architecture. Gifted poor students are exempted from payment of fees, as are students studying the rare musical instruments such as the oboe. The Lebanese government in 1945-46 granted £L8,000 (\$3,636) toward the support of the Academy.

The movement for the foundation of private schools controlled by boards and societies seems to be spreading in Lebanon. For example, the League of Lebanese Women, which is perhaps the foremost association of women in Lebanon, established a progressive kindergarten in Beirut which quickly attained popularity. The Commission, however, was unable to visit it. In the summer of 1946 plans were being laid for the foundation of two boys schools of secondary level in the two well-known Lebanese villages of Suq al-Gharb and Shwayr on premises formerly occupied by American and Scotch mission schools. The movement was led by graduates of the Ameri-

1. The Lebanese Academy of Fine Arts. - Analysis

vention of tuberculosis, centers in the hospitalization of needy cases and administers a sanatorium at Dahr el Bashir. The Armenian Charitable Society furnishes treatment facilities for the care of Armenian patients. The Young Women's Muslim Association was established for the promotion of education among Muslim women, and since 1948 it has maintained a training school for nurses in Beirut. The Mouassat Society, an organization of Muslim women interested in infant welfare work, finances a small maternity hospital in Beirut.

The medical schools of the American University of Beirut and the Université Saint-Joseph have affiliated medical care and preventive services. The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in America supports a medical mission in Tripoli. The Near East Foundation directed a general health and rural improvement program in the Anjar villages in the Bekaa valley from 1944 to 1951, when it retired from Lebanon. It also instituted an extensive malaria control project in the Anjar and the Amnuk swamp areas. The Karaghosian Corporation, in America, contributed substantially to the work of the Foundation in the Armenian villages, and provides for the maintenance of child welfare centers in Anjar and Beirut.

The Lebanese Public Health Association is prominent among the professional societies. It is concerned with the promotion of public health in Lebanon and with the dissemination of educational materials. The Lebanese Medical Association is likewise active, and publishes a journal for its membership.

Two industries maintain medical facilities for the benefit of their employees—the Iraq Petroleum Company, at Tripoli, and the Trans-Arabian Pipeline Company, at Beirut and Sidon. The Iraq Petroleum Company also subsidizes a medical insurance scheme for the families of its employees. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees carries on public health programs in the various camps